



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

committee, as their report, on the second day after the reception of the message, and had been (from its length) evidently prepared, if not adopted, by the Committee before the message was sent in. It was an elaborate Manifesto, filling ten or twelve printed pages, and concluding in the following language, which no one who had ever heard Mr Munroe discourse upon the subject, could doubt to have been his:<sup>3</sup>

Enclosed to R. K. Crallé, Esq

January 20, 1854, by

Wm. W. Moore

The matter is copied in the handwriting of my son.

Wm. W. Moore

## 2. Robert Barnwell Rhett on the Biography of Calhoun, 1854

ROBERT BARNWELL RHETT, who wrote this letter, was born at Beaufort, South Carolina, December 24, 1800, and died in Louisiana, September 12, 1876. His name was Smith, but in 1837 he adopted the name of Rhett. He served in Congress from 1837 to 1849 and succeeded Calhoun in the Senate. He went to Louisiana after the Civil War and a few years before his death was principal in a duel in which he killed his opponent.

The biography alluded to, a brochure of 74 pages, entitled *Life of John C. Calhoun, presenting a Condensed History of Political Events from 1811 to 1843* (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1843), was published as a part of the Calhoun propaganda for the presidential nomination, but it is far above the style of ordinary political literature, and has been the basis of much of the information concerning his life. The final paragraph of the brochure speaks of the friendship of the author for Calhoun and closes (the italics being

<sup>3</sup> "Your committee, believing that the free-born sons of America are worthy to enjoy the liberty which their fathers purchased at the price of so much blood and treasure, and seeing in the measures adopted by Great Britain, a course commenced and persisted in, which must lead to a loss of national character and independence, feel no hesitation in advising resistance by force, in which the Americans of the present day will prove to the enemy and to the world, that we have not only inherited that liberty which our fathers gave us, but also the will and power to maintain it. Relying on the patriotism of the nation, and confidently trusting that the Lord of Hosts will go with us to battle in a righteous cause, and crown our efforts with success, your committee recommend an immediate appeal to arms."

Cf. the following:

"Nothing would satisfy the present Ministry of England short of unconditional submission, which it was impossible to make. This fact being completely ascertained the only remaining alternative was to get ready for fighting, and to begin as soon as we were ready. This was the plan of the administration when Congress met in December last; the President's message announce it; and every step taken by the administration since has led to it." Monroe to Taylor, June 18, 1812, *Writings* (ed. Hamilton), V. 205.

in the original): "*His [the author's] statements of facts and opinion he knows to be entirely authentic*, and after a deliberate review of every sentence and word he has written, he finds nothing which a reverence for justice and truth will allow him to alter." This *Life* has always heretofore been attributed to R. M. T. Hunter, Senator from Virginia 1847 to 1861, and Secretary of State to the Confederacy.<sup>1</sup>

GAILLARD HUNT.

ROBERT BARNWELL RHETT TO RICHARD K. CRALLÉ.

SULLIVANS ISLAND Oct 25 1854

*My Dear Sir*

It seems to me your course is very plain as to the Documents you mention. You are publishing the works of Mr. Calhoun. You should exercise a sound discretion as to what you should publish. But if you publish any matter which flowed from his pen, you should publish it as he wrote it. If *he* made corrections, insert them. But if others made corrections, the corrections ought to be rejected. In the Exposition for instance, it was greatly altered by the Committee who reported it to the Legislature of which I was one. Mr. Calhoun had nothing to do with these corrections and I know disapproved of them. I think you ought to include in your publication his Addresses to the People of the U. S. and South Carolina. He wished to have put them forth. They were read to the South Carolina Delegation in Congress to obtain their judgment upon them. They were suppressed, and greatly to his mortification and indignation. Publish them by all means. So his letter on Disunion There is but one thing written by Mr. Calhoun that you ought not to publish as his—and that is—"his life." He wished me to Father it—but I told him, that it was impossible for me directly or indirectly to allow any one to understand that I was the author of a publication which I had not written. Hunter and I read it over together in my house in Georgetown. He inserted about a page and a half, and became the putative author; and it has done more to lift him to his present position than any thing else in his public life.

Are you going to write his life. If you are there are many things which ought to be unveiled. For instance do you know that when Tyler first quarrelled with the Whigs, he offered the office of Secy of State to Mr C—— with a carte-blanche as to the Cabinet. Hunter and I both urged Mr. C—— with all our might to take it. But after anxious consideration he declined it—one of the greatest blunders he ever committed. Wise knows I presume all about it—and of course Tyler. Dan Hamilton applied summer before last for two Documents

<sup>1</sup> Calhoun writes to his daughter, *Correspondence*, p. 524, "Mr. Hunter has rewritten most of the [sketch]; so much so as fairly to be entitled to the authorship"; but he says nothing of the original writer.

in my possession—one a letter of Mr. Calhoun as to the course South Carolina should pursue, if the other Southern States abandoned him in the controversy of 1850—the other was the curious proceeding by which the Southern Rights Senators in the Senate of the U. S. signed a paper pledging themselves, to defeat the Bill admitting California *by any means the majority of them* should determine on. Yet when the point came, they backed out—the Virginia Senators and the South Carolina Senators going against any measures whatever. This was the true cause of the failure of the South in that great controversy, and it is due to history and truth that the matter should be known. Did Hamilton give you these Documents, and do you intend to embody them in your life of Mr. Calhoun?

I assure you, it would give me great pleasure to assist you in any way in your labours of friendship to our great departed friend. Altho', my who[le]public-life seems to me to have been a failure and to have ended in vanity, yet I thank God, that so much of it, was spent in association with one so worthy of my esteem and admiration. I differed with him on two occasions—the election of Taylor, and the Mexican war. But in the last struggle of his and my political life, we came together again. We fought for the South. He fell dead in the cause—I, living. Had he lived we would together have conquered. As it is—neither of us will be able to vindicate ourselves. But time will do it for us—at least for him, for my name will be too feeble to be connected with his great fame. The Southern People have but one alternative—Independence, or ruin. Under the Union as it exists, our doom is certain.

I thank you for your kind invitation, and should I again visit Virginia, I shall surely avail myself of it.

Yours Dear Sir most truly

R. B. RHETT.

Mr. Rich<sup>d</sup>. K. Cralle

P. S. The manuscript you speak of was sent to a Committee in Charleston Elmore Gourdin Cronin and others. I was on Sullivans Island, a fugitive from Yellow fever with my family. As soon as I can go to Charleston I will see to it. The letter of Mr. Calhoun on our State Constitution, to which Judge Emory refers, I will send to you. It was published this summer in "The South Carolinian" in Columbia, and has contributed largely in rallying public opinion in the late elections.